28: Spiro--1-2 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 132, 805, 831 Ifalik

"There are two seasons in this area, that of the prevailing westerlies, and that of the prevailing easterlies. The latter is the season of the tradewinds, and enters about the middle of November. The natives largest unit of time is this climate season, which is called a rag. They recognize neither the solar nor the lunar year, but the rag is easily ascertained because of the abrupt change in the direction of the winds. The months in the rag are named, but are of little importance in the culture; most of the people, indeed, do not remember the names. The current month is the important month, and is referred to by the generic name for month, maram, which is also the name for moon. [2]

There is, of course, no conception of the week. The day is divided into fourteen parts, all of which are named, and indicated by the movement of the sun. The night, too, is divided into fourteen parts, indicated by the position of the stars, of which the natives named and identified forty for me. But these divisions are almost never used. The four divisions, morning, noon, afternoon, and night are usually sufficient for their needs."

28: Spiro--54-55
116, 156, 787, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-15
Ifalik

"In contrast to the general infrequency of possession is the frequency with which Arogeligar is possessed. Unfortunately I did not record the number of times he was possessed, but hardly a week passed without his being possessed at least once. And invariably he would blow blasts on his whistle and walk through the village hoping to induce others to follow him. Often these possessions occured late at night after most people were asleep. Unlike the others, who are possessed by the alusisalup, Arogeligar is possessed by an Alusiang, the Ifaluk patron diety, Tilitr. This possession is known as 'abwuter aluseuelaush', our father has come.'

We may now look at two cases of possession that I witnessed. The first happened two nights after a two day ceremony. We were sitting in our tenst when we heard singing and the shrill blows of a whistle, and I went out to see what was happening. The people of the house closest to our tent were seated in the courtyard, singing what was obviously a chapeng, but this in itself did not mean a possession since the singing of chapengs in the evening is not at all unusual. I was then attracted by a much louder singing proceeding from another house much further from our tent. When I arrived, I noticed that there were about 20 people seated in front of the house, singing a chapeng, and that a few showed minor degrees of possession, by euphoric smiles on their faces, the quality of the singing, and the movement of their arms and bodies. Arogeligar was leading the

singing, and was obviously 'high.' Normally he would greet me with a smile, and with the native greeting of mauwas. That night, however, and indeed on all nights that he was possessed or high--and usually it was both--he would greet me with one of the few English phrases he had picked up--'good morning'--in a shrill voice, accompanied by a sharp jerk of his arm in my direction. By this time Dr. Burrows had arrived, as well, and he offered us both a wreath. It was evident that he had been possessed before we had arrived, and had come out of the possession, but was still influenced by it, and this impression was later confirmed when our boy, Talimera, informed me that the alus had come to Arogeligar. After about half an hour of singing, he announced that he was going to the home of Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, and invited us to accompany him. The women remained behind, and he was accompanied by the young men, all singing as they walked up the path, whilst he was blowing his whistle. Talimera had just been possessed, too, as he informed me the next day. At Paluelimar's there was more singing, and at Arogeligar's request, Paluelimar placed tobacco on the shrine in his courtyard. After about twenty minutes, the entire group left Paluelimar to go to Tom's house. Arogeligar asked Tom to tell us that he and the boys were going to continue their walking through the woods, and that it would be better if we returned, which, of course, we did. I heard singing and whistling until late into the night, when I finally fell asleep.

The next day, Talimera informed me that a woman had been bathing in the channel

between Felarik and Falalap in the early evening, and an alusengau had frightened her by throwing stones at her, and by rustling the water. Just about the same time Arogeligar was possessed, and he frightened the alusengau, so that it had separated.

On the evening of Octoger fifth, I was scoring the day's Rorschach records when I heard chapeng singing coming from a near-by house. I went to investigate, followed later by Dr. Burrows. Arogeligar was just leaving the courtyard of the house, as we approached. This time he recited his 'good morning' again, but instead of jerking his arm as a form of greeting, he seized the hand of Dr. Burrows and kissed it.

As we came to the house, we saw the members of the family seated, singing a chapeng, but we could not make out their movements, since it was a coal-black night there being no moon. We sat down, and the husband of one of the women of the house brought us a mat, and also a small fire, and explained that the alus had arrived.

With the aid of the light, we could now make out the two women, Levagoman and [55] Tavelear who were seated in front of the doorway, and the other members of the household who were seated in the courtyard. The former was was a widow, in her late thirties, and the latter, her 'sister', a very beautiful woman in her early thirties, whose husband whom she had not seen for a year, had just returned from Woleae the previous day. Tavelear was obviously possessed. She was singing the chapeng in a tremulous

voice, with a pronounced trebel, clapping her thighs to the rhythm of the music, and intermittently breaking into laughter and hysterical giggles. Her voice was quite hoarse, and at times was scarcely audible, so that she would sing in a falsetto. Throughout she was gay and 'happy', in a strange way. There is little doubt but that her behavior was hysterical. I had known her very well, having spent much time in her house observing her baby, and it was difficult for me to realize that this was Taveliar. Normally she is quiet, taciturn, not given to exaggerated movements of any kind. The contrast was glaring. This hysterical seizure lasted about fifteen minutes, after which, she passed out of it, singing along with the rest, but in her normal voice, and patently exhausted. (13)"

"13. [See following sheet for footnote 13.]"

"13. [Footnote 13, p. 55] It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for her posession. Her husband had just returned the day before from Woleae, where he had been living quite a long time. She had a suckling baby that could not yet walk, and intercourse is prohibited until the baby can walk. Now Tavelear has the reputation of being a sensuous woman, and Tom often remarked how difficult it had been to satisfy her sexually when he had had an affair with her. Now her husband had returned, she had been with him for two days, and could not yet have intercourse, which for her constituted a severe frustration. Her aroused sexual feelings that could not find a normal expression, were 'converted' or canalized into the hysterical seizure. This, of course, is in agreement with the psychoanalytic interpretation of conversion hysteria in general.

The dance she performed during the seizure lends credence to this interpretation. It was a most sensuous dance--her hips and thighs rolling and swaying to the weaving of her arms, in perfect sensuous rhythm. The atmosphere, Dr. Burrows and I agreed, seemed laden with sex."

28: Spiro--77-78 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533, 831 Ifalik

"Songs are abundant. Dr. Burrows collected over two-hundred songs, which are of three kinds. The bwarux are the love songs, which formed the largest category. These are composed by the women and are traditionally sung by the women to their sweethearts as a prelude to love-making, while they perform a love-dance. They are also sung and danced, as we have already seen, during fishing expeditions. [78]

These songs, are quite candid in their treatment of sexual organs and processes and sexual practices, which stands in marked contrast to the customary avoidance of any sexual allusion in daily life."

28: Spiro--94
116, 123, 858, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"It is to be expected that this pattern of indulgence induces a low threshold of frustration tolerance, so that if the infant is inhibited it reacts violently. One example, from many, will illustrate this point. As I entered a courtyard one day, a baby boy about two years old, came over to sit on my lap. He soon discovered the pencil in my pocket, and began to play with it. (12) After a time I took the pencil from him. This minor frustration caused him great grief. He shook his body and head violently, and then began to scream--a genuine temper tantrum. But the moment I returned the pencil the crying ceased, and he became all smiles. Yet again when I stood up to leave, he screamed violently, and would not be pacified."

"12. His play is irrelevant in this connection, but is of psychoanalytic interest. He repeatedly removed the pencil from my pocket and reinserted it. He would then place it between his thighs, and then stick either himself or me with it. This sequence continued for some time. It was obvious also, that he was 'playing for the gallery', since he would look to see if the people were observing him, and if he noticed that I was unattentive, he would give a shout of rage."

28: Spiro--106 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-12
116, 857, 524, 831 Ifalik

"A game played by two children involved rolling a bottle-cap on the ground, which the other child, would pick up, and return to the other. But the formal structure of the game is always accompanied by personal behavior and symbolism. For example, Iliakong and Talavusman were playing this game when the latter had a sore knee so that if she over-threw the mark, she would have to retrieve the cap, since he could not run. Each time she ran for the cap, she would bend her head to the ground, put her hand between her buttocks, and giggle, and he would laugh with her.

Another game, a variant of this, is rolling a ball (made of coconutleaves) on the ground, while a model windbreak is standing near one of them. The windbreak is not touched, but it fell over in the course of the play, the participants and observers would break out into peals of laughter. Instead of windbreak, they would set up a coconut fan against a stick, with the purpose of knocking it down with the ball, and if they succeeded, they would again break into great laughter. (22)

"22. From the intense excitement and the 'obscene' nature of the laughter, one could probably infer that the knocking over of the stick with a ball is an unconscious coitus phantasy, shared by all."

28: Spiro--106 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 857, 524, 831 Ifalik

Another favorite game is the play-wearing of clothes. Both the little boys and girls (nude) would wrap cloth about them, and parade about the house or courtyard. Or they would wrap themselves in blankets, parading around the house, and then lie down together under the blanket."

28: Spiro--120
344, 827, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"2. The fanap, the 'townhall', is distinguished by, among other things, the huge carved phallus attached to the front pillar. But the pillar has other representational objects. On one side, carved in bold relief is a giant lizard. On the other side is painted a large fish. In front, under the phallus are painted small, stylized fish (the same kind as are tattooed on the natives' arms and legs), a rat, and flowers. Now, without claiming dogmatically the validity of a universal symbolism, this juxtaposition of objects, seemingly discrete and disparate, does make sense in terms of psychoanalytic symbolism. The fish, the lizard, and the rat are all phallic symbols, so that the rat and lizard phobia, revealed in the SERT can now be understood as penis phobias. Logically and culturally there is no explanation for their juxtaposition. Psychologically (in the unconscious) their justaposition is quite consistent, being symbols of the already obvious and consciously understood carved penis. And if a rat does symbolize the penis then the rat in this song may very well mean the same.

At the same time, the flower is a symbol of children in psychoanalytic symbolism, and again, from this point of view, its presence here is not bizarre at all, but quite consistent. It represents the greatly desired product of the penis, children. This is given additional credence by the fact that in many songs a mother refers to her child as the flower of her ear. The choice of the ear is extremely interesting in view of the widely spread belief in conception through the ear, as in the case of Mary having conceived Jesus by being impregnated by the Holy Ghost through the ear."

28: Spiro--125 [2]
116, 831, 827, 152

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In either case it is agreed that the sex drive is very important, though not as important as the food drive, since the frustration of the latter results in death. Perhaps the intensity of their sex drive may be gaged by the statement of my informants that if middle aged married couples had intercourse every night, they would die."

28: Spiro--128 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 521, 533, 831, 562 Ifalik

"Sex is a favorite topic of conversation, among the men and women both, though it is completely taboo in mixed company. The men, young and old, sitting about in the canoe houses in the evening sing bwarux, though only the women are supposed to sing them. And there is the almost universally-found ribbing and kidding of others with respect to sex. My informants were very happy to talk to me about sexual relations, and were in constant good humor, kidding and ribbing each other and me throughout. As Aluelimar, the elderly informant put it: 'No can leave talk about women.'"

28: Spiro--128 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 533, 177 Ifalik

"The young men were eager to learn of sexual practices in America, as were the adult informants. Women, when alone, are constantly singing bwarux. When the men make the statuettes which they sell to the ships, there is usually some kidding about the length of the penis. In one case Taualimen was carving a man with a long penis, and was about it every day. Otilivok one day, while this kidding was going on, went to a corner, and carved very diligently for a long time, finally coming back with a carved vagina, which he gave to Taualimen."

28: Spiro--128 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 831, 827, 177 Ifalik

"Though the people are neither modest in dress nor in sexual practice, in terms of western standards, that is, they are actually quite puritanical. Any sexual reference or term, either anatomical or physiological, is completely taboo in mixed company.

As we have seen, a man does not even permit another man to see his genitals. And anyone would be horrified if a member of the opposite sex had seen him nude. (9)"

"9. The Japanese shocked the sensibilities of the Ifaluk by bathing in the nude. Women would run away if they saw the Japanese bathing, as they were shocked by their boldness."

28: Spiro--129 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 593, 115 Ifalik

"This puritanism goes great lengths. A man would never dream of kissing his wife goodbye, not because kissing does not constitute a form of displaying of affection, but because of the absolute shame of being seen engaging in a sexual activity. No man would even hold the hand of his wife in public for the same reason. Our adolescent pattern of hand-holding would shock any Ifalukian. Any overt form of sexual activity or display of fondness between the sexes is inhibited. The candid reference to the sexual anatomy and physiology in the love songs stands in glaring contrast to their public attitude of shame. This means that one never sees overt affection displayed between spouses. One might interpret this as lack of affection, but this would be an untenable interpretation. In the intimacy of their homes, affection is shown, and patently felt. A wife will serve her husband, with no expressed feeling of gratitude on his part in public. But in private this pattern is different. One afternoon, for example, Tom and I were administering a battery of tests, and his wife came up bringing us coconuts to drink. Tom was very pleased at this gesture, his face beamed with pleasure, and he exclaimed: 'My wife, my wife! Very good that my wife.' On another occasion, I was giving his wife one of the tests, and she did not respond very well. Tom became quite angry at her, so that her feelings were hurt. He was immediately sorry for his treatment of her, smiled at her, and all was forgiven."

28: Spiro--129 [2]
116, 831, 514, 827

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This same puritanical attitude is displayed with reference to excretory behavior. All people perform their ablutions in the lagoon so that they are in public view. But they would be terribly ashamed if a person, even of their own sex were to see them urinating or defecating on land. If a man urinates, and other men are present, he will bend down on his haunches, so that his penis is concealed. A person in a group who must evacuate his bowels or bladder will not tell where he is going, when he leaves. He says, 'I am going over there.' Flatulation is in the same category. Should a person flatulate in public, people laugh at him, and he is greatly ashamed."

28: Spiro--129 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 192 Ifalik

"Unlike our own culture, sexual and excretory words are not employed as obscenities, with one exception. There are only two 'swear words' on Ifaluk: Go copulate with your mother (or father), And ganizin, literally, 'I (give food) to my mother'. This is obscene, say the natives, because you invoke the name of your mother in vain, which is bad. But I am inclined to interpret the phrase in psychoanalytic symbolism. The fact that the only tabooed words are sexual and excretory, and the fact that the other 'swear word' is a commission of incest, I think it not unlikely that the frequently found equation of eating with sexual intercourse applies here, and the seemingly innocuous phrase (unconsciously) means intercourse.

The former, go copulate with your mother (father)' is used by the children when taunting one another. The latter, ganizin, is used often, and is equivalent to our dammit.' That is, if one hits his fingers with a hammer, or a fish escapes, or a flint will not give a spark, the person will often express his anger or frustration, by muttering, ganizin. In other words, it is a means of 'letting off steam.'"

28: Spiro--129-130 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 192, 831 Ifalik

"All obscene words are called 'kapat engau', literally, 'bad talk.' It is of interest to note that though there are many forms of bad talk, culturally defined, such as lying, gossiping, etc., it is only obscene conversation that is literally designated as 'bad talk.' The young men and boys have devised a special sexual vocabulary which enables them to talk about sex, without betraying that fact to others. They employ one term, chagiach, which, as far as I could determine, was a universal generic term referring to any aspect of sexual anatomy or physiology, the meaning of which depends upon the context. Aside from this generic term, there [130] are two specific terms. The native words for penis and vagina (gai and tingi, respectively) which are completely taboo, are replaced by the terms, tamoneliman, and tamolelitrauwut, in which the root tamon means 'chief,' and the roots man and trauwut mean man and woman, respectively.

Now neither of the above substitutions corresponds to our distinctions between polite and obscene forms of words. The distinction does not exist here, all sexual terms being taboo. On the other hand, there is one term which does have a socially acceptible polite term, as well as one which is taboo. Gamar, the word for lover, is tabooed. However, if the occasion calls for the mention of the concept, a circumlocution is used--tralia-mukakat. (11)"

"11. My knowledge of the language is inadequate to break this down into its component roots. The boys insisted that it was merely a nonsense term. On the other hand, tral means water, and kapat means to speak."

28: Spiro--130
116, 831, 514

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This same verbal taboo applies as well to excretory references. No mention may be made of them in mixed company, not even one's own wife. For example, Tom's brother-in-law was ill, and I brought him some medicine. I wanted to know whether his bowel movement was regular, and asked Tom to ask him. Tom tried but he stuttered and blurted out nothing. Finally, he asked his wife, who was sitting with us, to leave the room. When she left, he could then address my question to his brother-in-law."

28: Spiro--130 [?] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 522, 831, 562 Ifalik

"This taboo on overt sexual verbal or physical behavior does not apply in the case of adults and children. During an interview with Lesaligesia, a 12 year old girl, Tom fondled her breasts throughout the interview. She sat through it impassively. He then took from his basket a tube of lipstick I had given him, and pushing the lipstick itself through the tube, he told her that she should show it to the women, and that they would laugh because it resembles a penis. The next day, while we were interviewing her sister, she came into the canoe house. Tom told her that she should go to the lagoon to bathe so that she would have her first menstrual flow, and then she could get married. Lesaligesia became sulky at this jibe, while Tom and her sister went into peals of laughter, thinking this very funny.

Another day we were interviewing Tavelegia, a young girl quite mature, but who had not yet menstruated. Tom asked her if she wanted a husband, and she said, no. He then said that she should marry a dog. Later, while we were still talking, he told her to put her finger up his anus. And still later, when she said she would have to leave to 'make a skirt,' he said to her that she should 'make my faeces.'"

28: Spiro--130 [3]
116, 831, 533, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual verbal taboos between different age groups within the sex do not exist at all. For example, women will sing bwarux, with their candid sexual references, in the presence of boys of any age. There is no age 'discontinuity' at all. After having administered my TAT's I showed pictures of other primitives to a group of males, including all age groups, as well as the chiefs, and told them stories about them, involving ribald sexual humor, to test their reactions. All ages thought them very funny, laughing uproariously, none attempting to conceal their lively interest in the matter because of the presence of persons much older or younger than themselves."

28: Spiro- 131 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 789, 831 Ifalik

"Despite the importance of sex, there are no supernatural techniques of obtaining love or sexual favors, no love magic. The natives said that love magic is found on Truk, but no one had brought it from Truk, since all the people would fear it."

28: Spiro--133-134 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 581, 462, 831 Ifalik

"When I asked my informants why people marry, I provoked great laughter. The men looked at me with amazement, as if I were incredibly naive, and then Auelimar, [134] the oldest of the men raised his hands towards me, and forming a circle with the forefinger and thumb of his left hand, thrust the forefinger of his left hand into it[sic]--an obvious symbol of intercourse. When the laughter had died away, I pointed out that men and women could have sexual relations without marriage, so there must be other reasons as well for marrying. They replied that if a person did not marry, people would talk about him, implying that the unmarried state is not quite normal. And all would ask him, 'Who will give you chow?' This is a recurrent theme, in the case of both males and females--a spouse is necessary in order to obtain food. In a culture which has a strict sexual division of labor with respect to the production and preparing of food, this factor does assume importance. Yet there seems little doubt that sex is the preeminent reason for marriage, other factors being equal. This is indicated further by the response of my informants to the question as to whether the institution of marriage to inanimate objects is practiced.' Suppose she no alive, what he copulate?', was the immediate response, rather than, 'suppose she no alive who cook for him?'"

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

of the wooden packing boxes were converted into sets of shelves. The cases of food were piled along the sides in the back part of the house, which became the kitchen area, cozily walled with cartons of sliced peaches and spam.

There was an altar in the back part of the Fan Nap that was a constant mental hazard because we did not want to offend the local people by desecrating this shrine with profane objects. The altar was a ramshackle affair, contrasting strongly with the usual Ifalukian workmanship, and this may have indicated that it was not taken very seriously; but we wanted to run no risk of giving offense. There was a large chest there, too, which we judged to be a sort of depository for the appurtenances of government. Among other things, the American flag was stored in the chest, to be hauled out and attached to a pole on the lagoon shore when a ship was sighted.

There was another sacred touch to the Fan Nap—a phallus attached to the main front center post and pointing out across the lagoon. The phallus, which pointed westward toward Woleai, the nearest neighboring atoll, commemorated an event of Ifaluk legend—or history. The story was one of violence and conquest and seemed curiously anomalous in the Ifalukian folklore, contrasting as it did with the present completely non-aggressive and peaceful character of the people. Ted thought that it might reflect memories of an actual conquest by the people of Ifaluk of earlier inhabitants of the neighboring atolls. Maur, the main character in the legend, was certainly the "culture hero" of the people of the island.

The phallus did not seem to be the object of any special veneration or cult—it was just there. Once, later in the summer, when we were trying to explain the money system of the United States, we were questioned about the portrait heads on the coins. Don explained Washington and Lincoln as long-dead "chiefs" thus commemorated.

Yani got the idea at once. "Ifaluk have picture of dead chief, too," he said, grinning, as he pointed toward the phallus of Maur on the Fan Nap.

The weather continued to interfere with the starting of field work. Friday it rained almost continuously all day—and of course the rain